1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The mobility of people other than household heads was much less. Women and children could move only with the permission, and usually in the company, of their lord and master. Occasionally old and trusted wives might be sent, unsupervised, on a journey by their husbands or their brothers, usually to carry messages and bring back gossip, but young wives were never trusted to be out of sight either of the husband or of elderly female supervisors. Young men were less subject to their fathers' orders and hence were fairly free to come and go as they pleased, but the universal suspicion which all husbands bore toward wandering young men put severe restrictions on their mobility and prevented them attaching themselves to any household or camp in which they did not have some close relative.

The fact, then, that a man like Tu'untalumi was (in Tiwi terms) very mobile did not necessarily mean that members of his household shared his degree of mobility. When he took most of his large household with him on his journeys away from home, as he often did, it was always because he was going a considerable distance and was traveling slowly, living off the country as he went. In such cases he liked to have a large retinue to feed him on the way and also to permit him to entertain in fitting style when he arrived. For while it was true that at a funeral or at an initiation the relatives of the deceased or of the novices were supposed to take care of the feeding of all the visitors, nonetheless, wealthy and generous men like Tu'untalumi believed in taking along with them a bevy of young wives, with a couple of efficient elderly widow-wives in charge of them, to contribute to the food-getting and food-preparing activities. Of course the supervision of the young wives' morals in the strange environment was often difficult, especially in the hectic atmosphere of a big ceremonial, but this worry was compensated for by the fact that the visitor who came so attended was contributing a number of extra food providers to the labor force of the harassed hosts and thus making a generous gesture, and also by the fact that such a visitor was not dependent upon the hospitality provided by the hosts. Having his own food-producing unit with him, he could live better and stay longer than if he had come alone or only as one of a party of men. In this respect, as in so many others, a Tiwi household head's decision had to be reached by balancing against one another the two competing motives of, on the one hand, the desire to eat well and, on the other, the desire to keep his young wives safe from prowling bachelors. Ki-in-kumi, the wealthiest man of the Malauila band, usually decided not only to leave his wives at home but also not even to go himself. But Ki-in-kumi was a gloomy, pessimistic old man. Tu'untalumi usually decided to do the thing in style, travel with a large retinue, have all the comforts of home while in strange districts, and take his chances on the strange bachelors. He clearly believed that a good booming ceremony with lots to eat and himself in the center directing the dancing was well worth the risk of a few of his young wives being seduced off-stage. Men like Ki-in-kumi thought Tu'untalumi an old fool for not leaving his young wives at home, and Tu'untalumi probably thought that old Ki-in-kumi might as well be dead, especially since his death would be the occasion for a really magnificent funeral.

4: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

father's name towards him and thus implying their approval of his taking that name. To select one example—there is at present in the Tiklowila horde a man *Pwandjilora* whose father was also a *Pwandjilora* who died about fifteen years ago. His father in turn was also a *Pwandjilora*, who is only remembered by the very old people of the horde.

This succession of names also takes place though to a very much lesser degree in the female line, that is from mother to daughter.

It must not be thought, however, that there is any such thing as private ownership of names by a family. A man but distantly related to *Pwandjilora II* would be quite at liberty to bestow that name upon one of his children were it not already in use and had a sufficient time elapsed since his death. An example is a famous warrior of the last generation called *Walitoami*. This name has recently been bestowed by one of the Tiklowila upon his son though neither he, the child, nor the mother of the child is closely related to the first *Walitoami*. As a matter of fact the child is the mother's brother's son's daughter's son of *Walitoami I*.

One or two other aspects of this subject may be dismissed briefly as they are more important in a study of kinship or ceremonial, than in a study of names as such.

A man may not in any circumstances use the name of the wife of another man, even the names of his brother's wives, without giving the husband a *casus belli*. A woman is a man's own property and the use of her name is an infringement of his property rights. In the same way a man's own name is his own property and cannot be used with impunity, at least in the presence of the owner of the name. In calling out to a person for instance, he will always be addressed by a kinship term, never by a personal name. This also is the manner by which the news of a death is carried to distant camps and the name of the dead man avoided, "your mother's brother at *Wilrangu* of the *Tjilarui* totem and the son of so and so is dead at *Brega*" being an example of how a relative is informed. The dead man is thenceforward referred to as "he who died recently at *Brega*."

There is another prohibition against the use by a husband of his own wife's name whilst she is in childbirth. For a couple of weeks before the birth and for a couple of weeks afterwards the husband must not look upon his wife, he cannot use any of her names, nor can any others of the tribe mention her either by name or by implication to him. Even such an

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

527 mainland, it will be remembered, are with preference postponed until after night-
535 fall. The women were not permitted to take part in the proceedings, but were,
[562] indeed, kept at some considerable distance off. Youths and male children were allowed to join in the ceremonies without apparent restriction. When we met with men, hunting in the bush, and they had been convinced of our *bona fide* intentions, they would approach us in groups of from two to four, and deliver up their long
[200] spears to us. Several of the young men would, in the meantime, run into the woods as messengers to summon others who were as yet unaware of the presence of the strangers in their haunts.

203 A corrobboree[1] having been decided upon, the signal or invitation to take part
527 in the event is sounded by two or three of the older men, who have previously arranged it among themselves. This initial note is a long-drawn, continuous yell resembling the German diphthong ö! Other members immediately fall in with the same note and are joined, at intervals, by others excitedly rushing up to take their stand alongside of those who started the call. The monosyllabic "ö" is kept continuous by the combined efforts of many voices, each of which individually expires for a moment, after the lungs' capacity for air has been completely exhausted. The note is, however, taken up again immediately after a fresh supply of air has been inhaled. The weirdness of the monotone is suddenly broken by the powerful voice of the "master" of the ceremonies, who brings forth a penetrating, but abrupt, order resembling "wahoi." This is instantly and collectively repeated by all others present. A momentary silence follows and allows the sombre trunks of the surrounding forest to reiterate the final word in ringing echoes.

The leader once more gives the note; this time in a slightly modified form resembling a long-continued "ye," that merges imperceptibly into a "yi." A sudden shrill "wahoi-hoi" brings that note also to a stop. A deadly silence prevails.

527 The primary appellation now being over, the performers congregate themselves into a compact group. In the meanwhile much excited vociferation ensues from
[628] every mouth, young as well as old. At this stage their eyes make a survey of any neighbouring encampment and if, by chance, a likely performer is noticed who has not heeded the appeal and is shirking his duty by non-attendance, he is furiously implored, at times abusively, to join the assemblage of performers. The leader now emerges from the group at a walking pace and is followed, in single file, by all participants, each in his turn falling into regular order as though his place had previously been allotted to him. The course taken by the leader is a winding one; walking, at first, some distance away from the point of starting but returning
527 eventually thereto. The musical accompaniment is started afresh, and though not
533 exactly melodious to the European ear, it is certainly a remarkably clever and original production on the part of the aboriginal. The nearest way we might describe it in words is that it is in the form of a trill, produced by a rapidly repeated

[1] Compare also H. Klaatsch, *Proc. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, 1907, vol. xi, pp. 589 and 590.